

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5944
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S E C R E T MOGADISCIO 0473

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: PBOR, SO, ET, KY
SUBJ: IMPLICATIONS OF THE GSDR WITHDRAWAL

REFS: A) MOGADISCIO 0459; B) STATE 060457

1. SIAD'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRESIDENT'S BID TO WITHDRAW SOMALI FORCES FROM THE OGADEN SPELLS A NUMBER OF CONSEQUENCES FOR US POLICY, THE OPERATIONS OF THIS MISSION, AND THE FUTURE OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF CONSIDERATIONS I SHOULD LIKE TO SET FORTH FOR THE DEPARTMENT, AND QUESTIONS I SHOULD LIKE EITHER TO REITERATE OR POSE FOR THE FIRST TIME. THIS IS BY NO MEANS AN EXHAUSTIVE TREATISE, AND I HOPE THE DEPARTMENT WILL ACCEPT THESE THOUGHTS IN THE SAME MORNING AFTER SPIRIT IN WHICH THEY ARE COMPILED. TIME, HOWEVER, IS CRUCIAL, AND I ANTICIPATE QUERIES FROM BOTH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOMALI DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (GSDR) AND THE AUGMENTED WESTERN PRESS CORPS AS SOON AS THE ANTICIPATED PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF WITHDRAWAL IS MADE LATER TODAY.

2. MY FIRST CONCLUSION IS THAT SIAD WILL NOW LOOK TO THE UNITED STATES AS THE GUARANTOR OF THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE GSDR. HE WILL EXPECT FROM US NO LESS THAN WE HAVE
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EXTENDED TO THE ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT -- A STRONG DECLARATION OF SUPPORT FOR THE PRE-HOSTILITIES BORDER OF THE GSDR. MOREOVER, HE WILL BE LOOKING FOR AN EARLY TANGIBLE SIGN OF THAT SUPPORT, PREFERABLY MILITARY, BUT AT MINIMUM SOME OVERT POLITICAL DEMONSTRATION. THAT MIGHT TAKE THE FORM OF US WILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE A SPECIAL SOMALI ENVOY, OR TO DISPATCH A PROMINENT PRESIDENTIAL ENVOY TO SOMALIA. THERE

WILL BE PROBLEMS APLENTY TO DISCUSS, AND SUCH A MISSION WOULD BE VALUABLE ON THAT BASIS ALONE, BUT HIGH VISIBILITY WILL BE A KEY FACTOR. HAVING ACCEPTED PRESIDENT CARTER'S PROPOSAL THE GSDR WILL WANT Z SEE IMMEDIATE TANGIBLE SIGNS OF US XOOD WILL THAT IT CAN SHOW TO ITS PEOPLE. IT HAS A VALID REQUIREMENT NOW NOT TO APPEAR TO BE ISOLATED.

3. I HAVE ALSO CONSIDERED WHAT FORM OF MILITARY PRESENCE IF ANY WE MIGHT WANT TO DEMONSTRATE. I SUGGEST AN EARLY NAVAL SHIP VISIT BE CONSIDERED. SHOWING THE FLAG WOULD REMIND THE SOVIETS, ETHIOPIANS AND THE CUBANS THAT WE INTEND TO HOLD THEM TO THEIR WORD TO REFRAIN FROM INVADING THE GSDR. I THINK THE ISSUE WOULD BE FACED MOST CLEARLY BY PUTTING A SHIP INTO BERBERA. A CONCURRENT OR SUBSEQUENT VISIT TO MOGADISCIO SHOULD ALSO BE CONSIDERED. THE INITIATIVE FOR ANOTHER IMPORTANT ASPECT OF MILITARY PRESENCE IS ALREADY IN SOMALI HANDS. I SHALL REMIND THEM EARLY NEXT WEEK THAT THE QUESTION OF A MILITARY ATTACHE IS STILL PENDING, A REQUEST THAT IS PATENTLY AS MUCH IN THE INTEREST OF THE GSDR AS IT IS IN OUR OWN. I SHOULD HOPE THAT WITH THEIR APPROVAL WE COULD FLY THE DESIGNEE HERE SOONEST SINCE HE WILL HAVE MORE THAN ENOUGH TO DO AS SOON AS WE APPROACH THE CONGRESS WITH A REQUEST FOR APPROVAL FOR DEFENSIVE WEAPONS TRANSFER. IN THIS SENSE, I HOPE THAT AT LEAST SOME CONTINGENCY STUDIES ARE BEING MADE AS TO QUANTITITES AND DELIVERY TIMES. SIAD WILL BE SECRET

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PUSHING FOR ANSWERS ON QUESTION SUCH AS THIS, AND I SHOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO GIVE HIM AT LEAST SOME ESTIMATES.

4. I WAS HEARTENED TO SEE THAT WE HAVE BEGUN DIPLOMATIC MOVES TO FACILITATE SOMALI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE OGADEN (STATE 06458). I SHALL CARRY OUT MY INSTRUCTIONS PERTAINING TO THE KENYAN FRONTIER AS SOON AS THE GSDR ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE. IN THIS CONNECTION I AM AWARE THAT KENYAN COMMUNICATIONS WITH ITS EMBASSY IN MOGADISCIO ARE NOT ALWAYS DEPENDABLE. WE WOULD BE PLEASED TO OFFER COMMUNICATIONS SUPPORT IF NAIROBI BELIEVES IT DESIRABLE. I ASSUME OUR DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES WILL CONTINUE ON A BROADER SCALE. IT WILL BE HELPFUL TO ME AND USEFUL IN MAINTAINING SIAD'S CONFIDENCE IF I CAN KEEP HIM GENERALLY ABREAST OF AT LEAST SOME OF OUR INITIATIVES -- NOT THOSE INVOLVING ADDIS ABABA -- SO THAT HE REALIZES WE ARE WORKING TOWARD AGREED ENDS.

5. DURING THE PERIOD OF VERIFICATION OF GSDR WITHDRAWAL WE SHALL CONTINUE TO USE VERY RESOURCE AVAILABLE TO ENSURE ADEQUATE AND TIMELY COVERAGE. I HAVE ALREADY INSTRUCTED APPROPRIATE ELEMENTS IN THE EMBASSY ON THE IMPORTANCE OF

THIS TASK, AND KNOW THAT THEIR COOPERATION WILL BE AS OUT-
STANDING IN THE FUTURE AS IT HAS BEEN IN THE PAST. I
CANNOT RULE OUT THE NEED FOR SOME ADDITIONAL C&R SUPPORT
IN THIS AREA, AND WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH A SEPARATE MESSAGE
ON THIS SUBJECT. OTHERWISE I BELIEVE OUR EXPANDING ASSETS
-- A POLITICAL OFFICER TO ARRIVE NEXT WEEK, AND AN ECONOMIC
OFFICER SHORTLY TO FOLLOW, WILL ENABLE US TO X
VE THE KIND
OF COVERAGE I SEE AS ESSENTIAL IN AN EXPANDED RELATIONSHIP.
I SHALL ALSO BE COMMENTING SEPARATELY ON POSSIBLE WAR
RELIEF PROGRAMS A SUBJECT I HAVE ALREADY DISCUSSED WITH
MY AID TEAM HERE. I BELIEVE IT WILL BE OF UTMOST IMPORT-
ANCE TO EARLY CATALOG NEEDS AND MOVE DRAMATICALLY AND
EXPEDITIOUSLY TO MEET GSDR REQUIREMENTS IN THIS AREA.

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6. WHEN THE ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE HERE LATER TODAY I
ANTICIPATE QUESTIONS FROM THE WESTERN PRESS WHICH IS WELL
REPRESENTED AT THIS POINT. I SHALL REPLY IN SUCH MANNER
TO SUPPORT THE OVERT PROGRAM FOR A SETTLEMENT IN THE HORN
THAT WE HAVE ALREADY ANNOUNCED, BUT I WILL AVOID COMMENT
ON THE INDUCEMENTS WE OFFERED TO THE GSDR. MY ANSWERS
WILL IN PART BE CONTINGENT ON THE GSDR WITHDRAWAL STATE-
MENT, BUT I DO NOT WANT IN ANY WAY TO DETRACT FROM THEIR
ANNOUNCEMENT. DURING THE PERIOD INTERESTS AT SUCH A
HIGH PITCH HERE IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF WE MIGHT RECEIVE
IN ADVANCE PLANNED PRESS STATEMENTS ON THE PROBLEM.
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